Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. C.2.2.

THE POVRTRAICTVRE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE IN HIS SOLITVDES AND SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

M. DC. XLVIII. February 12° 1648

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ERRATA:

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I. *Upon His Majeſties calling this laſt Parliament.*

THis laſt Parliament I called, not more by others adviſe, and neceſſity of My affaires, then by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crowne, and beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeares, I hoped to have extinguiſhed:) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publique grievances in Church & State; I hoped by My (freedome and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings, and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affaires would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould find leaſt of them in My ſelfe; not

doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to heare, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens wel-meaning zeale by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of My owne Heart toward My Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firme underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My owne and My Childrens Intereſts gave me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporall bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen My ſelfe in ſome things of My wonted Prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gaine but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but

but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented; if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissnesse in Church, and State, had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practise, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeale to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My selfe; whom it most concernes both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reforme, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant whatever My Reason & Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My owne Judgment to have been over-borne in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed My selfe, and My Kingdomes, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou (ô Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming doe not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us, how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sinnes, Thou giveſt us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not Repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, ô Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdomes, are the Just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and maybe yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaffe may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the ſinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with Our ſinnes.

O thou ſoveraigne goodneſſe and wiſdome, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turne our Poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy Warre, ſo let this Warre prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attaine to that Kingdome of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours ſake, Amen.

2. *Upon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a spheare, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his owne disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the businesse of that unfor-

unfortunate Earle: when between My owne unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſigne of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to beare, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calme the ſtormes of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans owne boſome.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event

and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have ſuffred, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leaſt by denying to Signe that deſtructive BILL, according to that Juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſo farre from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more than they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me, not to conſent againſt the vote of My owne Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in My ſoule ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Juſtice,

before

before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gaine alike conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein my Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in My affaires, againſt the adviſe of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Straffords* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not Condemne him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelfe and the two

Houſes

Houſes Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knowes) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoyding publick miſcheifes) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load & guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy Warre; which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own ſoules, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my owne.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy, or malice

malice against him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo farre, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltineſſe O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſſe.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evill in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me with that pretious effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.

Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy Judgments, and to ſee my frailty in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſinnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to goe againſt my Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſinne againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Judge of our Conſciences.

What

What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul, for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Blood, which ſpeaks better things; & make me, and my People, to hear the voyce and Joy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy ſalvation.

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3. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and feares; yea, and many of my friends reſented, it as a motion riſing rather from paſſion then reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave only a free and legall Triall; which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroyle my Kingdomes: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knowes was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do Me, and my Kingdom right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my ſuſpicions: which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What

What flames of diſcontent this ſparke (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoone kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knowes, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my comming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince aboundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this. Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protecti-

on.

on. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which ſhall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all my deſigne: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on my ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe in heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickedneſſe in my thoughts.

Then

Then let the enemy persecute my soule, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy selfe.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. *Upon*

4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischeifes, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soone after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so tis no lesse, that he restraines the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, & assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments

both in contemptuous words and actions, to My ſelfe and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwaies encreaſing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe feares, which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of meane and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued, by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſalls againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would

would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancyed.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publique good, then obtaine it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious meanes? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their owne ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods meanes. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit meanes to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to

rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelfe and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchiefe.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged, and abuſed, while they knew their only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the knowne Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea; ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeale, & Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive, and *devoure*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; not yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; not yet from My ſelf could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedome in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelfe not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity for any man for popular terrours to deſert his publique ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gaines a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a Warre, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Perſon, and Conſcience from violence) God knowes I did not then

think of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelfe, if I had purpoſed to engage in a Warre, which to decline by all meanes, I denyed My ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and teare thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My ſole Judge, is My Witneſſe in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My Houſe at *Whiteball*, if I could have had but any reaſonable faire Quarter; I was reſolved to beare much, and did ſo, but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my Place and Perſon, the ſafety of My Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt

to

to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſinne in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to heare reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo farre as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publique Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we

must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdome most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme me.

I looke upon My sinnes, and the sinnes of My people, (which are the tumults of our soules against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbeare all the banks of loyalty, modesty, Lawes, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appeare, and after did'st assuage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order, and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of order and counsell.

What man cannot, or will not represse, thy omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Lawes duely executed, and to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelfe.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

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5. *Upon*

5. *Upon His Majeſties paſsing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute, what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, I could, to the Happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other deſigne but the Generall good of My Kingdomes) I willingly paſſed the BILL for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applied) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a diſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find worke with convenient receſſes for the firſt three Years; But I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more worke then they found to doe, by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activity that they wil needs make worke rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then doe nothing.

When

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens feares, and compaſſe publique affaires; I was perſwaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the dore upon all preſent Jealouſies, and future miſtakes: I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of dores, as ſome men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparalell'd by any of My Predeceſſours; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreame confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preſerving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt lies more than any

mans,

mans, ſince by thoſe Lawes, My Rights as a KING, would be preſerved no leſſe than My Subjects; which is all I deſired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act: and many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to doe; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in Men of Honors. That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by My largeſt conceſſions, if by them I might gaine and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I doe not yet diſpaire, but that God will ſtill bleſſe Me with increaſe of it: when Men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſſe, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor doe I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will ſtrive to returne ſuch retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My Poſterity, as may fully

fully compenſate both the acts of My confidence and My ſufferings for them; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to Men, that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of My owne and My Subjects miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility to undoe what by My Royall aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in Me, ſo farre to bind My owne hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows, though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries, yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelf by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their owne feares, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits would

would force them to conjure them downe againe.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely Inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Armes, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knowes I longed for nothing more then that My ſelf, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſinne, as well as of Hazard, and diſhonour for Me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: If ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of My owne heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may ſeeme leſſe a Polititian to men, yet I need

no

no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in My own Soule, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that My letting ſome men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelfe, together with Me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazards a Soule worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, and made Me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their owne paſſions, either to doe much evill themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflexions upon it as a ſin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgement: Onely I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evill, becauſe mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) doe I ſtill appeale, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of My beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others feares, I have raiſed Mine owne; and by ſetling them, have unſetled My ſelfe.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

Tis eaſie for Thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe My acts of greateſt Indul-

gence

gence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My Self may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make Me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against Thee.

So, although by My sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* VVestminster.

WIth what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced by Sea to a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more than feare, to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason, and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their owne freedome.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reason conclusive to My Judgment; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with

with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: If some mens Hydropick insatiablenesse had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councell; when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to whatever tumultuary patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdomes so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedome, which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to con-

ſent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which ſubjects Me only to God, ſo farre as by Reaſon or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe My Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and bruiſh formality, to conſent to what ever its ſubjects in Parliament ſhall require; as ſome men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My ſelf, as King, or the Houſe of Peeres with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſſe. I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point by My Governing only by ſuch Lawes, as My People with the Houſe of Peeres have Choſen, and My ſelf have conſented to. I ſhall never think My ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to goe as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propo-

ſalls,

ſalls, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinion, activeneſſe, weakneſſe, or wilfulneſſe, and what they call Obſtinacy, in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on My mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate detruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Errour and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can

be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councells, and Proposalls. I may, in the Truth and uprightnesse of My heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience or point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to deny My self, then them, as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My self to be Master, but in what concernes Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes, (all

which

which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirme that to Men, which in My Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thornes with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions, when instead of Reason, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the Interest of parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintaine: who, though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wills to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so farre to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and commands, that we should believe and obey rather then dispute them;

yet doſt thou expect from us, only ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, againſt our conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Juſtice; and to declare our conſents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, ô Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet me, and whereto the affaires of My Kingdoms at preſent did call me.

My People can witneſſe how fur I have been content for their good, to deny My ſelf, in what thou haſt ſubjected to My diſpoſall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities, & tumultuary violence of ſome mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous & unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make Me ſtrengthen them by My conſent in thoſe things which I think in My Conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of My Subjects, and the diſcharge of My own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make Me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities, and injuries they preſſe upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſinne againſt My Conſcience.

Let the juſt liberties of My people be (as well they may) preſerved in faire, and equall wayes, without the ſlavery of My ſoul.

Thou

Thou that hast invested Me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer Me not to subject My Reason to other mens passions, and designes, which to Me seeme unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring Me at last to peace and happinesse with thee, though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours sake.

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7. *Upon the Queenes departure, and absence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cause to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence, so much, as the scandall of that necessity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She should be compelled by My owne Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for Her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Sub-

Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants, who continue firme to their former ſetled Principles and Lawes.

I am ſorry My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of her danger and affliction, whoſe merits would have ſerved her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*, while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knowes not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth, among whom I yet thinke few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelfe. The fault is, that ſhe is My wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands

mands Me, to ſtudy her Security, who is only in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as ſhe may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but halfe, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My bloud.

I muſt leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects, and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyalty: Not can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

Tis pitty ſo noble and peacefull a ſoule ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre,

as

as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generality, and Vulgar; for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelfe-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have ſcornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our owne Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge: who thinke to ſatisfy all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactours as well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſo farre veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſignes, by ſcandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeeke to drive her out of My Kingdomes; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted ſo, or retayned in their love, and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My owne Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive

Me

Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My ſelf.

Thou O Lord, whoſe Juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at laſt, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preſerve us from the hands of our deſpitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our ſufferings for thy preſence.

Though we differ in ſome things, as to Religion, (which is my greateſt temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the ſincerity of our affections, which deſire to ſeek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy ſelfe, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldſt have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our ſoules eternall good, and make us carefull to doe what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is neceſſary to be knowne, nor unbelief, or diſobedience to what we know, be our miſery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of thoſe my Subjects, which profeſſe the ſame Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have her to learne, nor any hardning of her, in any errour thou wouldſt have cleared to her.

Let

Let mine, and other mens conſtancy be an Antidote againſt the poyſon of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profeſſe, be repreſented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity; and Peaceableneſſe; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious diſguiſes of Levity, Schiſme, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Diſloyalty, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſoving Truths, as Thine; that ſhe may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures.

That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhe may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt, our onely Saviour, and ſerve thee in all thoſe Holy duties, which moſt agree with his holy doctrine, and moſt imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatneſſe in our ſcatterings and Eclypſes, let it make us both ſo much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

8. Upon

8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or owne it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the Losse of My Kingdomes.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sinne, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to beare this, and much more, with patience. But I foresaw they could hardly conteine themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soone after to overspread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers: That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they

think

think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to doe or say any thing, unbeseeming My self, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as comming neareſt to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded, and avenged My cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, & with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his owne wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his owne and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsfull to them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turne, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Cõmon-weale. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſinne of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was ſo farre from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full drought, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo farre pitied him; as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope many other men doe in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgment that they cannot ſee any thing of Sinne and Rebellion in thoſe meanes, they uſe, with intents to reforme to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeale and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloake or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſinne, and reparation of his duty to Me, He ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have

have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffer us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraigne carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseperable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sinne, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take

any ſecret pleaſure in it, for his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me, more than the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchief to returne on his owne head, and his violent dealing to come down on his owne pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſonnes of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who beare moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy majeſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terrour to all.

Diſcover to them their ſinne, who know not they have done amiſſe, and ſcare them from their ſin,

ſinne, that ſinne of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And doe thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth meeting togegether; let my Crowne ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe, and peace, kiſſing each other.

Heare my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to doe good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake; who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

9. *Vpon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced Me to leave *White-hall:* what Tumults could not doe, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to feare him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before any outward tranquillity.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince me? O my Soule! be of good courage, they confeſſe their knowne weakneſſe, as to truth, and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have

have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING but by My ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and deſires their love, either to kill his owne Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdome, the fruits I muſt now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill counſell of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſſe of others envying the publique ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then any propenſity, I hope, of my ſelf either to injuriouſneſs or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud during My Reigne have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My luſt, anger, or covetouſneſſe? what Widowes or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My owne bloud? For the hazards of Warre are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any reſpect of Perſons.

In vaine is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied to ſee what Ground of Juſtice is alledged for this Warre againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoone end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeemes rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My owne Conſcience, however ſome men are not willing to beleeve Me, leſt they ſhould condemne themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults, (the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppreſſe both Mine and the Two Houſes freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeeme ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by My Lord

of

of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborne the Freedome and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences: I know no man ſo deare to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones; nor compelled to abet

by

by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedome.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in faire and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations, and Votes to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peeres, carried for them by farre the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulſes, contray to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuary, inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peeres were forced to abſent themthemſelves.

In like manner, as the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmaticall Terrours, which could never paſſe, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To

To which Partiality, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, My conſcience forbids Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard My owne, and My Kingdomes ruine, by my Defence; or proſtrate My Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolicall, and anciently Univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it; Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in My judgement, have alſo a moſt ſtrickt and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, moſt unbeſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My Conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the leaſt ſinne hath more evill in it then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point, with My conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſticall Government, and Revenues, to

the

the fury of their covetuouſneſſe, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a firm perſwaſion of their contentednes toſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights, and Honour for My ſake, and the Common-weals, wch I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdome. That I cannot adde My conſent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon My Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolicall; and ſo very Sacred and Divine, is not to be diſpenſed with, or deſtroyed, when what is only of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witneſſe, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a Warre, being only ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in My owne and other mens Conſciences.

After-

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made, which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeeme to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedome, becomming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being My neceſſity driving, the other My choiſe deſiring.

But ſome men know, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy, which I carryed with Me, which would never fit their deſignes: and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and

and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to ſeiſe in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My ſelfe, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reaſon and Honour, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

I

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſſe of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affaires betweene us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War, on My ſide, I doe not think My Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoule, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cauſe.

For

For Thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſigne or preparation to embroyle My Kingdomes in a Civill Warre; whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gaine leaſt of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy Warre; and which were better ſpent to ſave then to deſtroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the Warre, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeeme my People from this miſerable Warre; ſince thou O Lord knoweſt my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment

joyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counſells.

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in Warre.

Ariſe O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſigne of this Warre is, either to deſtroy My Perſon, or force My Judgment, and to make me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſſe Davids *choiſe and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire; Better they deſtroy Me, then thou ſhouldſt damne Me.*

Be thou ever the defence of My ſoul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but My bloud will ſatisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Juſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by Mine owne Subjects hands.

But ô let the bloud of Me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the Bloud of My Inno-

cent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Juſtice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary ſatisfaction; both for my ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that only pitty Me, and the Loyall hearts that durſt only pray for Me, at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Me; My unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingnes to fight; yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part, having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My ſelf, or to preſerve what is Mine own from their prorepption.

No

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt Me, and ſurpriſalls of My ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their eſteeme; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew My chiefeſt Armes left Me, were thoſe only, which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Teares. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing my Caſtles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo farre beſt for me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arme of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* ſo much in reference to My own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve Me, I am above My owne, what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolve their riddle of Making Me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to My Friends, and a Terrour to My Enemies by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſſe the other.

For thus have they deſigned, and propoſed to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of power, or without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience: That the Majeſty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charme, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects ſeldome agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their feares, and importunities, both to ſecure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving My ſelfe of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crowne) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to My ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and My People; If I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further than they protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their owne evill merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed againſt Me & Them! that neither can be ſafe if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine as to the

exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch Jealouſies of the Crowne, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to My Succeſſors, forbid Me to yeild to ſuch a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility & duty (no leſſe then juſtice and honour) ſhould have forbad them to have askedof Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypſe My owne beames, to ſatisfie their feares; who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have inveſted Me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity, and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future; ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtractions, which

which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eyes to foreſee; ſo they will find it hath more mouthes too, which much be ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counſell may be in many as the ſenſes, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tried the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe, (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that body, which as the Moone receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me) they will at length more eſteeme and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by My receding ſo much from the uſe of My Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which I am ſworne for My Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeeme) who compell Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging My truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting My Subjects by expoſing My ſelf to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill Warre and

advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yeilding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I doe not think that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they study to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency,

innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſſe of all, be thou more than all to me: Make haſt to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, and proſperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe Judgments oft begin with thy owne Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall

not

not feare what man can doe unto mee.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soule!

By my ſinnes have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayſt thou, by my owne Subjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-ſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

II. *Upon the 19. Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My owne ſafety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too deare a rate ſave onely the parting with My Conſcience & Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wiſh me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating My Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making warre upon My ſoule.

Here are many things required of Me, but I ſee nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of grateſull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for thoſe favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Mee, to put Mee on

on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aske more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propround) seeme unreasonable to me, and while I have any Maistery of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeilding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seeme not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my self to a generall and implicite

cite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdome, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to binde his own hands, and cut off his haire, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to doe, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeemes an arrogancy, leaſt of all becomming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their owne inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinkes fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reaſon, to Conſent, or Diſſent, elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me,

in

in Reaſon, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reaſon & Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which laſt God & the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraign, and them my Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man ſeekes to limit and confine his King, in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aime to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me truſt to their moderation, & abandon mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of my own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſell of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelfe, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my Soul, and the Majeſty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires

of

of thoſe men, who will not admit or doe refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the moſt part) of theſe propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed me, how well they can Governe themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counſellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution; or ſome evill cuſtomes

preter-

preterlegall, and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed: or ſome injuries done by My ſelfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crowne being conſidered by them, might fairly induce Me to condiſcend, to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelfe, whom nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, bind Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which, 'tis impoſſible to preſerve My People according to My Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentialls of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wiſdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reforme its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeale and ſpeciall piety,

but

but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to theſe ends. Nothing of any Laws diſjointed, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any juſtice to be un-obſtructed; of any compenſations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſmes in the Church, and ſo, punishable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Lawes againſt them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper in which thoſe are wrapped up to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.

Nor doe I ſo much wonder at the variety,

and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single, and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remaines in farre the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence,

gence, or ſupine credulity (believing that all is good, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgement to be drawne into the common ſewer or ſtreame of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamours and Tumults: which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My Judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Soldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevaile againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious, and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgment tell Me, that the Propo-

ſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the Major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdome ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude My ſelf; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as My ſelfe; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wiſdome, which makes the Lawes.

But the nnreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two laſt famous Predeceſſours daies, heaved at, and

and ſometime threamed both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taynt the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me imputé theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them downe; If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others doe of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I

am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my negative power, ſhall have any byas upon my judgment, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more than Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my owne peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, & oppreſſe the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithfull counſell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counſell of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſdome is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant, firſt with cleare diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice, in My Underſtanding: then ſo confirme My will and reſolution to adhere

to

to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppreſſions of my Enemies may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe than a Man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedome is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and injuſtice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING, *which Thou haſt given to all Men; and which Themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.*

To Thee I make my ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through thy perplexed Labyrinths of our owne thoughts, and other mens propoſalls; which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plaine before Me.

Let not My owne ſinfull paſſions cloud, or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not feare whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their owne devices, such as are wise in their owne conceits, make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdoms generall good, and my owne soules salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appeares to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsells.

Since we must give an account of every evill and

and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of thoſe ſolemne Declarations of my mind which are like to have the greateſt influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weale.

The leſſe others conſider what they aske, make me the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.

Though Mine owne, and My Peoples preſſures are grievous, and peace would be very pleaſing; yet Lord, never ſuffer Me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expenſe or waſt of my Conſcience; whereof thou O Lord onely art deſervedly more Maſter than My ſelf.

12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcerne the riſe, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of bloud, which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drowne any man in eternall both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall find the malicious Authour or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out, as a moſt unhappy advantage to ſome mens malice againſt me; that when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to my ſelfe, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with my privity (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trialls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

There-

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not only with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and blood of my own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies as much as ſome mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot doe well but in evill times, nor ſo cunningly as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparkes of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where deſpaire being added to their former diſcontents, and the feares of utter extirpation

tirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knowes, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Teares, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions, and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſignes they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe teares and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civill diſſentions, and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then my ſelf; I offered to goe my ſelf in Perſon upon that ex-

expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelf, or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſts needs be: who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebells to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not only to the known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) un-evangelicall Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples,

who

who would goe no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarme others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeale counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmneſſe, and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborne with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here, I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve

ſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knowes with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebells Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in my reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety, If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart, and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let bloud than to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is falſe, and evill, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, ſo I can have comfort to appeale to his omniſcience, who doth

not

not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Job's*.

I have enough to doe to look to my owne Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks doe out of a fornace; Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who conſcious to their owne depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can heare with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill doe better than they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

I believe it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not-timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or thinke) I looke upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my owne veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my

ſelfe;

ſelfe; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Warres to ſheath it ſelf: his mercifull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure: the abatement of our ſinnes, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once againe, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve, ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſinnes have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdomes have hitherto ſuffered ſeeme ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appeare to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgments; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sinnes, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sinnes be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the sea of our Saviours bloud drowne our sinnes, and through this red sea of our own blond bring us at last to a state of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make Me share in all My Subjects sufferings; so give Me such a pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coles of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruell Zeale hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three Kingdomes.

O rescue and assist those poore Protestants in Ireland, *whom thou hast hitherto preserved.*

And lead those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they doe thee good service. Let

Let the hand of thy juſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed, or fomented thoſe cruell and deſperate Warres.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadſt pity on Niniveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſtly curſed.*

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the fornace of thy ſevere juſtice a Poſterity, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities, if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloudy diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe. O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity, which thou O Lord knoweſt right well; But I truſt not to my owne merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before My owne interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to aske, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late New modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand, they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes

flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent meanes, before the divine Juſtice: I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the meanes, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that forme which they cry up, as the only juſt reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Preſbytery.

It cannot but ſeeme either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraigne State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines only for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That

may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant humours in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by faire and equall diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſign now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conforme to the *Scots* patterne before ever they could be heard, what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion thoſe truths gain moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices, and

and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemnes mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, only because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdomes, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the cheif Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Gospell; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a ſupremacy be an inſtitution of Chriſt, ſure it differs from all others; and is the firſt and only point of Chriſtianity, that was to be planted and watered with ſo much Chriſtian bloud, whoſe effuſions run in a ſtream ſo contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Chriſtianity and Epiſcopacy, which was with patient ſhedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; ſure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetouſneſſe or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which thoſe *Scots* had by Army or Commiſſioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obteſtations, and pious threatnings, but only this; to repreſent to me the wonderfull neceſſity of ſetting up their Preſbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miſeries of a Warre; which ſome men cheifly on this deſigne at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schiſmes, or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, ſet up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Preſbytery

bytery ſeekes to ſuppreſſe, and render odious under thoſe names; when wiſe and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schiſme, and Sectariſme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſall way of the Church-government, and ſpecially as to the particular Lawes and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdome, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, & his Churches good; which I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious Zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Own; and the ſalvation of mens Soules above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſinne and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they have firſt gained

my

my conſent, and reſolved, both my own and other mens Conſciences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian, nor Loyall, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle my Religion; nor any mans elſe, who knowes what Religion means: And how farre it is removed from all Faction, whoſe proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beaſts, not of reaſonable men, much leſſe of humble Chriſtians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe, that have ſome temptation of gain, to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in againſt my will, and their forfeiture of ſo many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondered, how thoſe here, could ſo much diſtruſt Gods aſſiſtance; who ſo much pretended Gods cauſe to the People, as if they had the certainty of ſome divine Revelation; conſidering they were more then competently furniſhed with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navie by Sea, my Forts, Caſtles, and Cities by Land.

But

But I find, that men jealous of the Juſtifiableneſſe of their doings, and deſignes before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their worke on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoone after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the filmes

filmes and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſignes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpaire of their returne; when beſides the bonds of nature and Conſcience, which they have to Me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crowne, not in their ſerviceableneſſe to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their owne advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply My ſelf to God.

The Troubles of My Soule are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of My diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyne in hand, yet let them not pre-

prevaile againſt My ſoule, to the betraying of My Conſcience, and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turne the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyall Zeale, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſſe purſue Him.*

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſſe in Me, and I ſhall not deſpaire of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canſt ſoone cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O My God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not My enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute My Soule.

Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve Me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon*

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and faire pretenſions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacy; This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemne a charm & exorciſm be caſt out of this Church, after more than a thouſand yeares poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, and an univerſall preſcription of time and practiſe in all other Churches ſince the Apoſtles times till this laſt Century.

But no Antiquity muſt plead for it, Preſbytery, like a young Heyre, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Biſhops Chaire & Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to My ſelfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſigne and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths & Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſſe, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no cleare morall neceſſity, but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgment, and certainty in ones ſelfe, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuſes faire and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſenting too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, to maintaine the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious minds never think they have laid ſnares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politicke and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the popularity faſt to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Lawes, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Party, without My conſent, and without any like power or preſident from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects conſciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull waies; ſince I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and meanes they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious)

by

by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their knowne and ſworne duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and Myſelfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgment, That ſuch later Vowes, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soules.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues & Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the cõmon road, uſed in all factious & powerfull perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practiſe, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who ayme to ſubdue all to their owne will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends

and twists them: for every man ſoone growes his owne Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelfe of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the ſubtilty and terrour of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vaine, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegall waies ſeldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſigne intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, the diverſe or contrary; with any ſalvoes, cautions, and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not though chiefe Deſigne, which is laid againſt the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party, So little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that

that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rathnesse of taking it; which must needs then appeare, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyne it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep

it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publique Peace: Againſt which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partiall adviſe of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profeſſion, and practiſe) ſuch foule ſcandals and ſuſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whoſe judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than My ſelf to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall adviſe) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Preſbytery,

bytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legall Rights than the Biſhops, and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deare, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne with My Conſent) ſo I have alwaies had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predeceſſours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands,

which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to doe: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Taske; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring, Sacrilege, and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry* 3. sometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony & Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, & People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have beene nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

If

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no lesse than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our owne power; it being every mans sinne not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repaire the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addresse My prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Re-

formation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the Zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not ſacrilegious deſignes to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from conſenting to perjurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treaſures are Exhauſted, My Revenues Diminiſhed, and My Debts Encreaſed, yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch profane Reparations; leſt a coal from thine Altar ſet ſuch a fire on My Throne and Conſcience as wil be haraʒy quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which ſome mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoone recover, by thy bleſſing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in

times,

times, where the Charity of moſt men is growne ſo cold, and their Religion ſo illiberall.

Continue to thoſe that ſerve Thee and thy Church all thoſe incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the juſtice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Prieſts may be cloathed with righteouſneſſe, and the poore may be ſatisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not ſatisfied.

Let thoſe ſacred morſels, which ſome men have already by violence devoured never digeſt with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottenneſſe to their names, a moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.*

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have handyed together againſt the Church and State, that the folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

15. *Upon*

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems & conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly loose My Crownes, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdomes so deare to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead & gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foule and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might

might at once blow up their affections, and batter downe their loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thanke God, the detriment of My Honour is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples soules, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soone misled into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherein they doe not onely, not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures, while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then feare God most, when they least honour their King.

I thanke God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subiects fought against My supposed Errours, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of My Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My ſelf; our welfares being inſeparable; in this only they ſuffer more then My ſelf, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly

neſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraigne Enemies, I could have borne it; but they muſt be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foreſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then Rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happineſſe; if it could expiate, or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray My own juſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My Enemies; between whoſe malice, & other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Malicious

litious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and new.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to beat, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evill manners, and feared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandalls, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First,

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency, then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of Me, and not to Blaspheme him; so many were persuaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Nor but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, then forsake Me.

Nor is it strange that so religious Pretensions as were used against Me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, curfing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulnesse of the means used,

nor

nor the depth of the miſcheif, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens judgments muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not downe Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of My Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor doe I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesſe in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calme, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing

lieving it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt My Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid, and did, ſo they might prevaile.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſſe of duty, Allegiance, and ſubjection. The firſt they owne as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to Me in Common, as their KING; different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who find moſt fault with me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in ſuch exigents to uſe the aide of any his Subjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance, than many Proteſtant Profeſſours; who ſeem to have learned, and to practiſe the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me, (and very pleaſing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was diſputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no leſſe then their prayers as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of My Evill Counſellours was another uſefull device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels but their owne, ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſell that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man; or honour, as a King; making their counſels more like a drench that muſt be powred downe, than a draught which might be fairly and leiſurely dranke, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties My ſelfe, or My Counſellours: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages, yet

yet such as were farre more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects.

No even were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the

comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to doe what every man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Lawes, and Religion; I envie not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; So farre am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me ſo prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Orna-

Ornament and Protection; others their Menacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth his rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeekes an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt informe My Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Lawes, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeekes to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Lawes and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake,

giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; ſo My reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ferall birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious,

than

than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will doe Me good, for some mens hard, false, and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and downe to set all places on like flames) than those men doe, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evill of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those*, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, should not Honour their KING.

They will easily contemne such shadowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without sinne seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veiles be able to hide the

ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majeſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproach, and My diſhonour, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Me are ſworne together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſonnes of men turne My glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt My Enemies prevaile againſt me, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies; the Lord will abhorre both the bloud-thirſty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteouſneſſe to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noone day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence, nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; and being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.

Thou

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed, when by thy judgements on* David *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainfull reproaches, giwe me grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evill-ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *curſing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſſing toward me.*

Though they curſe, doe thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſſing to my people.

That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Looke downe from heaven, and ſave me, from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

16. *Upon*

16. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Booke.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, muſt needs undoe whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdome or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly beares a great part in Religion, (being the Soules more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People than to tel them, They ſerved God amiſſe in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Formes of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered, and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Lawes in force, it muſt be crucified

crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary veyne and fluency: or others, who conſcious to their owne formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, & a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſſe of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Booke, ſober and learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could againſt it; eſpecially for Popery & Superſtition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing Set and preſcribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholſome words being knowne and fitted to mens underſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a wel-compoſed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any Reaſon, why any Chriſtian

ſtian ſhould abhorre, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Formes of prayer, ſince he praies to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as wel before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men; I heare, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their owne invention, and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expreſſions, in Publique prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, than that which they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts)

than

than in the uſe of conſtant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the moſt extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, than un-premeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract, and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their owne, and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Booke were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe with ſerious deliberation & concurrent adviſe, ſuch Forms of prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, informe the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoule of prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any private

private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, & flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacrament all adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Formes conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Formes of Publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order, and gravity, becomming thoſe duties; which by this means

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are exposed at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schimes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abett those innovations, (that men may not seeme to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refused to use it, cried out of the rigour of Lawes and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of

their

their Conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Lyturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-prayer-Book publickly, although their Conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedome, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the evi-

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dence of Reaſon, as well as Lawes, they ſhould have beene driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the people by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I beleeve, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to ſay *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbeare Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their owne formes, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their onely puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Formes of ſound and wholſome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denieſt us not a

new and fresh ſenſe of our old and daily wants; nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their owne abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Errour conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order,

der, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cauſe of formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocriſie in our owne hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the ſame formes cannot hurt us.*

Give us wiſdome to amend what is amiſſe within us, and there will be leſſe to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind Zeale, and over-bold devotion.

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17. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houſes, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintaine it, not ſo much out of piety, as policy, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men; and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may

best restraine the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so farre the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intrusted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgment is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late yeares, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them

them under ſpecious titles of *Chriſts Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They muſt give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new waies: contrary to the full, and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſours the firſt and beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion;

(the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of wel-being, than the want of the word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the maine ſcope and deſigne of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be call'd *Biſhops*, as to the overſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpeciall

ſpeciall dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, untill uſe, (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpeciall authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended & inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whoſe ſpeciall power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopall claime, as from divine right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who not enduring ſound doctrine, and cleare teſtimonies of all Churches practiſe, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers, againſt

true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the forme, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy & authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture-Canons, & Ecclesiastical examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to Me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and My dearest relations with My Kingdomes have sustained, and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the best rule, and the Churches Universall practise the best commentary, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government,

ment, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more beleeve, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall orders, & a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdome (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied ſo many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdome and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and injoyed in thoſe times, which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Pre-

Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit meanes to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a meanes to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not only the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as farre lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples,

amples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall

ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtrayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free & impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Lawes in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cryed down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the

the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſticall uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo totall change, little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appeare the greateſt Enemies to, and Betrayers of their owne intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters wil find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clegy-men will ſoone let them ſee, what a poore carcaſſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firme to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reforme, whatever the ruſt of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a groſſe vulgar

vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhorre.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, & Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgment of men failed My good intention made My errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours to be redeemed from

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that vulgar neglect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtraine them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knows) I doe not gratifie any deſigne or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Soveraigne, as ſome men have endeavoured to doe, againſt all theſe grounds of My Judgment, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more than I doe, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other waies: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy & ſolitude; when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over

thoſe

thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority, they had above others; which could not end with their perſons; ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyall paſſions had not ſo blowne up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive Patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens zeale for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues hath ſet them on worke to eate up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſſe ſin, than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelfe.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable

to

to My judgement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfullneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoone, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledge and Perjury? beſides the many perſonall Injuſtices I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any, who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preſerve; & of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me,

That I muſt, and ought to diſpence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My lot ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious & unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſentiall liberty of our ſoules; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelfe juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſſe, and ſacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill diſſentions; till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knowes) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhor; as many wayes highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto, if I ſhould ſhamefully, and diſhonourably give My conſent; yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly objected

jected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me, to conſent to the like in My other Kingdoms. For it ſhould be conſidered that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgment beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, & at all times.

If any ſhall impute My yeilding to them, as My failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſe; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeilding to them been ſo happy and ſucceſſefull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſſe, Juſtice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect My judgment to be biaſſed, or fore-ſtalled with ſome prejudice and wontedneſſe of opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whoſe paternes are ſo cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, workes of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed

beyond what they have done in My Kingdomes (by Gods bleſſing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitution.

The abuſes of which, deſerve to be extirpated, as much as the uſe retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Presbyters, and ſober People; ſo as Church affaires ſhould be managed neither with tyrannie, parity, nor popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgment and Conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

For Thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe, as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence, to be overborne againſt my Conſcience.

Ariſe O Lord, maintaine thine owne Cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath

been

been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaßionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paße by without regard, either to pity, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a King, *yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve, from Sacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleßings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſinnes and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permißion, thus to let in the wild Boare, and ſubtill Foxes, to waſt and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the firſt Chriſtian King *in this Kingdome, who ſhould conſent to the oppreßion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reforme with meekneſſe,*

than expose their persons, and sacred Function, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. *Upon* Vxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword: I

was

was ſo wholly reſolved to yeild to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelfe, nor others, ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expreſſes of My deſires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon, than Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity to *ſeek peace and enſue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My ſelf with Armes, ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all Warre by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill Warre uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſſe I had ever enhaunce with Me the pride of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I ſought to reſerve was, Mine Honour, and My Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy compoſure; had others applied themſelves to it with the ſame moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as farre as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, would give Me

leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse; or of such consequence; as in the least kind to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in warre, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affaires, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so farre to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elswhere set downe My thoughts more fully)

fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolicall patterne, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conforme thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſſe, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather loſe the Churches honour, than croſſe ſome mens Factious humours.

God knowes, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the un-ſucceſsfulneſſe of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the reſtauration of Peace to My people, than the preſervation of my own Crowns to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire Condeſcendings, as Arguments of feebleneſſe, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtifneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwaies

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to aske ſomething, which in reaſon and honour muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of Warre; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy My ſelfe by diſhonourable Conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to doe.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their owne depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſigne of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawne to produce our owne reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſsfulneſſe of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper

per to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gaine by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelfe: who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.

Cleare up our underſtandings, to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace, which only Chriſt our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy war, have at leaſt, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to trie Me with Victory, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to owne, and uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*; able when he pleaſes to repreſſe the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let Me ſee, that I was not wholly forſaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arme of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My Cauſe: & thoſe that were with Me wanted

wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was began by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſins may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternall fate of their Soules.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to My juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Armes.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Feares, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which

which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Lawes: firſt by unſuppreſſing the Tumults, after by lifted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes & Governours; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt Me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied only to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous deſignes by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and My ſelf, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with

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eternall life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their Soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the Field, but never, I believe, at the barre of Gods Tribunall, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt tri-

triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the only plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Lawes eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Country doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is farre more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own ſoules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any ſhewes, or truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without

My

My ſorrow, becauſe it was on Mine owne Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſinne: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made Me deſpaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Lawes and Liberties of My people; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with My Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for My good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over My ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted Me, which God ſaw beſt for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by puniſhing our ſinnes, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in Warre: as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocency forbade Me to feare a Warre; but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeilded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the Warre; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sinnes was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successe on either side, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sinnes un-subdued; flushing our pride,

pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till repentance have prepared us for it,

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Warres, that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor doe I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my Enemies by patience, which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events, when going forth in our owne strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when

we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my selfe in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civill distractions, but a chiefe instrument to restore and establish a firme, and blessed Peace to my Kingdomes.

Stirre up all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of warre; so for the sinnes of warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant,

want, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and griefe, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that pretious blood, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour Me ſo farre, as to make Me an Inſtrument of ſo good a worke, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee after the

freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance the paſſions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite ſcandall of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schiſmes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt & oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed, (as ſhowres do warm gleames) the talke of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with My ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeale, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applyed (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affaires, I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; not with freedome and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which, they knew to be of Apoſtolicall inſtitution, at leaſt; as of Primitive and Univerſall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes, and feares, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judg-

ment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches, the Lawes in force, and My consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbitery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbitery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsells; and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designes: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare

not

not but ſmother their fruſtrations, and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light, wherein they live; The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men lift to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five yeares conſultation had matured

their

their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and every will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to doe Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes, and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre; by the advantages

vantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self & all My Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations, to such private designes as must needes hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor wil any men in impartiall times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs

Christ's Government will confirme Mine, not overthrow it, since as I owne Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkenesse, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our owne soules.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be meanes to reforme what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us cleane hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; Quench the fires which Faction have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

And then haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions, and confuſions, what is the pravity of ſome mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgements; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe, or ſacriledge, may have any influence upon their counſels, whom thy providence in juſt and lawfull waies ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary worke. That I, and my People may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace.

21. *Upon His Majeſties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine enemies could hardly have expected, ſo they know not how with honour and civility to uſe it. Nor doe I think with ſober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious

odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of vertue and Nobleneſſe being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and ſecreſie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expoſe them to publique view.

Yet ſince providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world, without any of thoſe dreſſes, or popular captations, which ſome men uſe in their Speeches, and Expreſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into My moſt retired thoughts:

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve My owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happineſſe, and that extreame grief to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to ſee My conſtancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion.

Bees

Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poiſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth, ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoon mens deſigns, like *Abſolams*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expreſſions can do them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of My chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters may be convinced,

that

that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affaires, ſo as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evill Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon me as my own Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing me to think their Counſels to be other then good for me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwayes the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But

But I see no ſecular advantages ſeeme ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſignes as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all meanes to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover Mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; By exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Juſtice can, and will overrule the moſt perverſe wills and deſignes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I think, that by the ſurprize of my Letters, I have loſt any more then ſo many papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be pay'd to all men, and moſt be-

becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their owne consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God blest the modest respect and filiall tendernesse, which *Noah's* Sonnes bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me, to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelinesse; which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*)

to

to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as a Vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any Notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affaires; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his owne ruine: so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to My People.*

I must first appeale to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to returne on their owne heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their owne confusion, as with a Cloake.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anoynted.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crowne of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of goodnesse, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set Me; who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon*

22. *Upon His Majeſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Mee three Kingdomes, yet in theſe He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety & Honour reſt my Head: Shewing me that himſelf is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of defence, in which I may put my Truſt.

In theſe extremities, I look not to man ſo much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly caſt my ſelf, and my now diſtreſſed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now my Counſellour, and commands me to ſtudy my ſafety by a diſguiſed withdrawing from my chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who firſt began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compoſe them.

This my confidence of Them, may diſ-arme and overcome them; my rendring my Perſon to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they meane not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soule to God, and My selfe; nor shall any necessities compel Me, to desert Mine Honour, or swerve from My Judgment.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to desert Me of all Military power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humame affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those, that have Adhered to Me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds already

already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for My Friends ſafety, than Mine owne; chuſing to venture My ſelfe upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to goe over, than to conteſt in vaine.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up My Souls liberty, or make My Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded My conſent to their new demands.

I thank God no ſucceſſe, darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelf weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclypſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not moroſity to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe than my ſelf

while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Soules, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelfe.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battaile, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus farre to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe, that by force have ſought to wreſt them from Mee.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwaies accompany Me, in My ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of My Soule, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my waies to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

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23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them further, than to men: if I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorry they ſhould doe it; and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſays, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himſelf; who never faileth them that truſt in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my ſelf, which I loſe, while I let out my hopes to others.

The

The ſolitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity, and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soule in ſin; nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got my Perſon into their power; ſince my Soule is ſtill my owne: nor ſhall they ever gaine my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me; not more a King,

King, and farre leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtaine, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoule: Better others betray me, than my ſelf: and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience; the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my owne conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelf & Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo deare to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crownes, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Lawes will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice, which

which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Poſterities thraldome.

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, than with them; happily I might redeem my ſelfe to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirme many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with Me, whoſe preſence is better than life; and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.

Owne Me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complaine for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe Me ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancy in Juſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt Me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve Me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelfe; and which

which, cannot be taken from Me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over My passion to any impatience, or sordid feares.

There be many say of Me, There is no help for Me: doe thou lift up the light of thy Countenance, upon Me, and I shall neither want safety, liberty, nor Majesty.

Give Me that measure of patience and Constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from Men defeated, My Person restrained: O be not thou farre from Me, lest My Enemies prevaile too much against Me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorne to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soule trusteth in thee: yea and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviour merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vayl and shadow of death, yet shall I feare none ill.

24. *Upon*

24. *Upon their denying His Majeſty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all other civill comforts and ſecular attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplyed by the attendance of ſome of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpirituall harveſt of grace amidſt the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wilderneſſe to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more ſad than any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denyed in thoſe

thoſe things, where the evill policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurious uſurpation: But to deny Me the Ghoſtly comfort of My Chaplaines ſeemes a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damne their Soules.

But My Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angell; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all Mine to be.

They that envy My being a King, are loath I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive Me of all things elſe, They are afraid I ſhould ſave my Soul.

Other ſenſe, Charity it ſelf can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received, as to that Requeſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of My Chaplaines.

I have ſometime thought the Unchriſtianneſſe of thoſe denialls might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee me prefer my own Divines before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and piety which

which may be in them; yet I cannot thinke them ſo proper for any preſent comforters or Phyſitians, Who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotionall complyance, and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from me, or in jealouſie of me, or in oppoſition againſt me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe then the diſeaſe, and ſome comforters more miſerable then miſery it ſelf; when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy; and by Juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred function, that I have hazarded my own

owne Interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintaine their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more to appeare as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomly requited by some of them, who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanenesse, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgment, and most sutable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to heare no mens prayers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans owne understanding, or belying his owne soule.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious non-sense, but such an humble and judicious gravity as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate both of Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his owne Vilenesse; both knowing what things God allows

him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men; or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily & common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which as I doe not wholly exclude from publique occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, doe require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasionall, solitary, and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of rayling againſt, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by ſeeming to pray what I doe not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by My Denyers ſufficient of My ſelfe to diſcharge My duty to God as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might well become the ſame Perſon; as anciently they were under one name, & the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, if I were able, than thoſe two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crownes, than one was for devout Pſalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables

and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Soules to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome and providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to find My selfe reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no lesse enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My owne Chaplaine.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My owne, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, than those, which are encombred with secular affaires: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends

tends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soule is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to God, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and I think more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to My spirituall defects makes Me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Me; so as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and to leave Me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny Me, than this of having some meanes afforded Me for My Soules comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no

way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them, but only this, that they may ſeem too able and too well affected toward Me and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Me to ſerve My ſelf; though I muſt confeſſe I beare with more grief & impatience the want of My Chaplaines, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and Children, ſince from theſe indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary meanes, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or Inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I direct My now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both

enlighten

enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: From thee all ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelfe; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladneſſe, worſhipping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a coale ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might

beſt kindle, preſerve, and encreaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of prayers, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.

Let O thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed Reed, nor quenchest the ſmoaking Flax, doe not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoule in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denialls of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſſe deſire.

O let the hardneſſe of their hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine eare to me; who art a God eaſie to be entreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not heare, nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help Me thy deſolate Supplyant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt heare me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy

thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned teares my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and accepteſt of me.

Thou O Lord didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meale in the veſſell ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyle in the cruiſe fayle the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate & forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my Soule.

Which yet I had rather thuſe than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, (which are cleare for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devoure the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens balmes break my head, nor their

their Cordialls oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KING's solitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words ô Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou heares the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extream to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledg my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency

of

of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, and my Peoples sinnes; which are so farre mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, ô Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come far short of Davids *piety; yet since I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdomes have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turne thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrowes of my heart are enlarged, O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesses, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleeved to

ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſinnes of our proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee doe thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, ô Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Goſpell, and ſetling thy true Religion among

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſmes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the Antient rights and glory of my Predeceſſours.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of my people to thy ſelf in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of theſe Civill Warres.

If thou wilt bleſſe us with the freedome of publick Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, and ſpoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoul praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule my People with Juſtice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever own

as

as the rightfull ſucceſſion, ſo the mercifull reſtauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, ſafety, and honour, to My chiefeſt City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Juſtice into My hand to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually puniſhed in our unnaturall diviſions; for thy ſake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all means in the wayes of amneſty, and indempnity, which may moſt fully remove all feares, and bury all jealouſies in forgetfulneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Heare my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of fayned lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer,

prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my ſoule, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou O Lord haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surpriſall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affaires, I am not much ſolicitous; ſome little practiſe will ſerve that man, who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevaile against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their owne Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Pres-

Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their owne will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timerous to carry on any designe they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soone after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sinne in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of divine justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their owne Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin,

but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as My ſelf was forced to doe) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complaine highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and Betrayers of the freedome and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages than their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the

the Authours and Abbettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their owne crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them doe, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great & considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despaire of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storme be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and teares, with compassionate griefe, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be

gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfulneſſe, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becomming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gaine a faire period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publique conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the knowne Laws, than to the various wils of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts,

intereſts, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them than My ſelf: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo farre eſteem that valour & gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain My ſelfe, My Lawes, and My Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the ſtrivings of My People, and make Me to ſee how much they need My prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt Me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another; to the continuance of My Kingdomes diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the waies of peace, from which they have ſwarved: which conſiſts not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due obſervation of the Lawes.

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, & their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the cleare convictions of their owne consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer,

deemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied Me in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they were for Me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not My bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by My sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, than of mans cruelty or thy owne justice.

27. *To the Prince of* VVales.

SOn, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the chiefe paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of My long reſtraint, when I find My leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf, and uſefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure My Cauſe by the Succeſſe, nor My Judgment of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, becauſe they have ſo farre lighted upon you, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as well as My ſelf, and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſedome you have above moſt Princes; that you have begun, and

and now ſpent ſome yeares of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, and ſerenity of times; or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwayes remember they are born and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom, the other ſoftned by the unparalel'd proſperity of *Solomons* Court; and ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in ſummer; whom adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath deſigned you to be both, having ſo early put you into that exerciſe of his Graces, and

Gifts

gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth downe one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civill Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his owne ſoule at laſt.

To which Center of true Happineſſe God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup whereof I have

have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, well grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which, I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeat to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judicioully your own Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as comming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be not more neceſſary for your ſoules then your Kingdomes peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeale.

So

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeemes, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by aſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide, gaines you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either wth calmnes & charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affaires in point of Power that you ſhal not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never

never expect leſſe of loyalty, juſtice, or humanity, than from thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacob's* voice, but you ſhall feele they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeares; ſo compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as ſoone as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected mart, which cauſes inflamations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Maſter: till time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you, in matters which concerne Religion and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectuall ſuppreſſing Errours & Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a handbredth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your owne ſoule and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion; the next main hinge on which your proſperity will depend, and move, is, that of civill Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the moſt excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property, peace, and ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch a Crowne, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body, the weakneſſe of whoſe parts cannot

not returne any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety, to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exercifed in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worſe than legall Tyranny.

In theſe two points; the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion, and Lawes, I may (without vanity) turne the reproach of My ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome; as to the teſtimony of My owne Conſcience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I preferre Religion, and Lawes eſtabliſhed before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I doe, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learne that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with Me, as to the removall of theſe preſſures, & indignities, which his juſtice by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me,

Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retaine in My ſoule, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soule, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, as I hope he will; My counſell and charge to You, is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall, or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſell, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affaires of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelfe, or others, a diffidence of Your owne judgment, which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant & impartiall to the intereſts of Your Crowne and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſſneſſe, and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences

ſentences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom roughet oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them, ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, diſtribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodneſſe both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gaine You the hearts of

the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions, (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Lawes, and to Me) and are secured from that feare, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designes, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up & hidden under the fair and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appeare no better than a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Traine of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsell to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations

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tions of goodneſſe, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither feare any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and maske of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountaines of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendor of Your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrones and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe owne ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoone as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all princely arts, and clemency to heale the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may in-

clude all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have You alwaies propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Me of all; and I thanke God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their owne Soules moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſſe of Your mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating any

any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your owne merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will ſtudy to deſerve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Lawes have aſſigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and ſinne can deveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee You in peace, to let You more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never ſee My face againe, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment & obſcurity, (which the perfecting ſome mens deſigns require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I doe require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING,

that You never ſuffer Your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell You I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand; if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to You againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or Your owne thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late Warre againſt the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer,

Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*? which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeale abate Your value and esteem of true piety, both of them are to be knowne by their fruits; the sweetnesse of the Wine & Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatnesse, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedome, and Honour,

which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in faire, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publique consent; without tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sinne, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to weare a Crowne, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of Your honour will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife: who hath many waies deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to

blesse

bleſſe Me with ſo many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by Your wiſdome, juſtice, piety, and valour, of what, the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their

firſt

first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I believe You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe You performe; when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church & State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My Restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God bleſſe You, and eſtabliſh Your Kingdomes in righteouſneſſe, Your Soule in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and Your people.

And if God will have diſloyalty perfected by My deſtruction, let My memory ever, with My name, live in you; as of Your Father, that loves You: and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crowne, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My owne Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thouſand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore Me to My Rights. I cannot deſpaire either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and HIS MAJESTIES *cloſer Impriſonment in* Cariſbrooke-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death: for I know, there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the ſpace, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruell paſſions, whoſe envy or enmity againſt Me makes their owne lifes ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My proſperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwaies uncertaine: Death being an eclipſe, which

which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy daies.

But My now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled; and the ſpeciall horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death againſt them; which as to the immaturity, unjuſtice, ſhame, ſcorne, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can feare.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to die; if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt

glory

glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by peecemeales, and make us overlive our owne fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me, having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soule! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in

a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valour, it argues puſillanimity to deſire to die out of wearineſſe of life; and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher, or lower: whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſon's* Lyon, but they yeild much ſweetneſſe to thoſe, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſodain, and barbarous death; in the ſtrength of My years; in the midſt of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectators; My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught me not to hope other-

otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My Life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody & dispofall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, & to submit to his will both in life & death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrours of death, wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddennesse of a barbarous Assasination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruell) will, it may be, seeke to adde (as those did, who Crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make My death appeare as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne; who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much lesse against Me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his

his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraigne; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding My bloud seem to wash their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their owne consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designes, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whose right it is, be cast out and slaine.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My selfe with the Church and State by My Word, or not suffer them to doe it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles, which some men seek

to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will find him both My Protectour, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrones of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to beare the loud cry of My bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedding theirs, who with them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad confuſions following My deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to

Me

Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince My troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many waies pleaded My cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſinne was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their owne ſafety by My danger, and the ſecurity of their lives de-

ſignes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſinne are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from Me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to My death are embrued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for

for the ſubſtance of that heavenly kingdome with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world, I know the ſharp and neceſſary tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who doe not onely pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

Theſe know, how to excuſe my failings, as a man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publike; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evill dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their owne thumbs and toes, having under protence of paring others nailes been ſo cruell as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and

obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* & his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince & Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdaine of their ill-gotten and worſe-uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not feare to appeare, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, wch his revealed Word (the onely cleare, ſafe and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſs of My Conſcience before God & toward my people will carry me, as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion:

who

who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperity and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſigne. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſayles of Pirats, doth not juſtifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the juſt liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſſe, overborne them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) than they can give it to me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt me.

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſinnes and ſorrows attending this miſerable life, where-

with theſe deſire, I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more than Conquerour through Chriſt enabling me; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which, I have been forced to contend againſt Errour, Faction, and confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for ſinne to nature, ſhall be raiſed, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my owne ſinne, as from God, and the effect of others ſinnes, as men, both againſt God and me; yet as I hope my own ſinnes are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guilty of my deſtruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtain; that my temporall death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look

look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storme, themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despaire, they have only discover'd this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Afflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea,

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee; than by living in our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpeciall graces and comforts in My Soule, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt be with Me, I ſhall neither feare nor feel any evill, though I walke through the valley of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the worke of a weake and mortall man, to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with Me, as a Man, make Me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt Me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, not My will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gaine; and in death, advantage.

Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they loſe their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Sonne a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My Murtherers,

Murtherers, louder than theevy of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damne their owne soules by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell, who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but oversome their cruelty with thy compassion and my alacrity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent soules with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little, to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bland of the same Redeemer, we shall live farre above those ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heavyest, and cruelleſt

left upon me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repaied in thy ever-bleſſed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.